

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 200080 TOSEC 100041

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 200080 TOSEC 100041

FOR UNDER SECRETARY SISCO

FOLLOWING REPEAT LISBON 4778 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN LONDON  
MADRID MOSCOW PARIS STOCKHOLM NATO DIA USCINCEUR  
AUG 21.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 4778

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PO, PINS

SUBJ: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

REFS: (A) LISBON 4742 DTG 201429Z AUG 75

(B) LISBON 4768 DTG 211213Z AUG 75

SUMMARY: COMMUNIST LEADER CUNHAL HAS CALLED FOR THE CREATION OF  
A COMMON PROGRESSIVE FRONT TO COUNTER THREAT POSED BY "RESURGENT  
REACTION." LARGE DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF COPCON DOCUMENT  
MARKED BY CRITICISM OF PCP AND MDP/CDE. GONCALVES HAS PROTESTED  
ATTEMPTS TO REPRESENT HIM AS THE CAUSE OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL  
CRISIS, WHILE ARMY CHIEF FABIAO HAS EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT THE  
DURABILITY OF THE FIFTH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. VIOLENCE  
CONTINUES. ANGRY ANGOLAN REFUGEES DEMONSTRATED IN FRONT OF BELEM  
PALACE. END SUMMARY

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PAGE 02 STATE 200080 TOSEC 100041

1. CUNHAL PUSHES COMMON FRONT: IN AUGUST 20 PRESS CONFERENCE

IN ALCANTARA, COMMUNIST LEADER ALVARO CUNHAL ANALYZED THE PRESENT POLITICAL CRISIS IN PORTUGAL AND PROPOSED THE FORMATION OF A COMMON FRONT OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES TO OVERCOME IT. HIGHLIGHTS OF HIS ANALYSIS INCLUDED:

- REVOLUTION THREATENED: THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION IS IN INCREASING DANGER. THE EXISTENCE OF DIVISIONS WITHIN THE AFM AND SQUABBLING AMONG POLITICAL PARTIES -- THE FAULT OF PS LEADERSHIP -- HAVE ALLOWED A RESURGENCE OF FASCISM.
- AFM: THE MOST SERIOUS ASPECT OF THE CURRENT CRISIS IS THE SPLIT WITHIN THE AFM ITSELF. AFM IS WEAKENED AND ITS VERY ESSENCE IS THREATENED; DANGER EXISTS THAT AFM MAY COME TO BE DOMINATED BY CONSERVATIVE OFFICERS AND DISAPPEAR AS A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. THIS MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN.
- FIFTH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT: PCP SUPPORTS CURRENT GOVERNMENT AND PRIMIN, BUT REALIZES THAT NO GOVERNMENT IS VIABLE WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF AFM, MILITARY STRUCTURE, AND POPULAR MASSES. PCP IS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN SEARCH FOR MEANS TO GUARANTEE SUCH SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT, AND WOULD AGREE TO RESTRUCTURING OF POLITICAL POWER, AND POSSIBLY OF THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF, TO DO SO.
- MELO ANTUNES AND COPCON DOCUMENTS: TWO DOCUMENTS DO NOT EXPRESS ONLY POLITICAL VIEWS WITHIN AFM; THOSE OF VASCO GONCALVES, AMONG OTHERS, ARE EQUALLY IMPORTANT. ANTUNES DOCUMENT "NEGATES ESSENTIAL ASPECTS OF REVOLUTION" AND ANY POLITICAL PROGRAM BASED ON IT WOULD REPRESENT A TURN TO THE RIGHT. COPCON DOCUMENT IS UNREALISTIC. BOTH DOCUMENTS, HOWEVER, CONTAIN POINTS WHICH CAN SERVE AS BASIS FOR COMMON EFFORT BY THOSE WHO WOULD SAVE REVOLUTION.
- SOLUTION TO CIRSIS LIES IN COMMON FRONT: PRESENT CRISIS CAN ONLY BE OVERCOME BY FORMATION OF A BROAD COMMON FRONT ENCOMPASSING PROGRESSIVE PARTIES, AMRED FORCES, ORGANIZED LABOR, AND POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS.

2. SUPPORT FOR COPCON DOCUMENT: LARGE CROWD NUMBERING IN THOUSANDS TURNED OUT FOR DEMONSTRATION IN LISBON TO SHOW SUPPORT FOR COPCON DOCUMENT (REF A). AFTER MARCH THROUGH TOWN, RALLY HELD AT SAO BENTO WHERE SPEECHES ON PRINCIPAL THEMES OF DOCUMENT MADE BY REPRESENTATIVES OF WORKERS COMMISSIONS AND NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS WHICH SPONSORED DEMONSTRATION. EVENT WAS ALSO SUPPORTED BY ALMOST ALL PARTIES TO THE LEFT OF PCP. PCP AND FELLOW-TRAVELING MDP/CDE DID NOT GIVE OFFICIAL SUPPORT TO DEMONSTRATION, BELATEDLY SANCTIONED PARTICIPATION BY THEIR MEMBERS, ONLY TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 200080 TOSEC 100041

CRITICIZED BY DEMONSTRATION'S ORGANIZERS AND UDP FOR ATTEMPTING TO USE EVENT FOR THEIR OWN ENDS.

3. GONCALVES PROTESTS: AT SWEARING IN OF NINE SECRETARIES OF STATE AUGUST 20, PRIMIN GONCALVES PROTESTED AGAINST A TENDENCY TO PORTRAY HIM PERSONALLY AS THE CAUSE OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL CRISIS. HE ASSERTED THAT ATTACKS AGAINST HIM WERE REALLY ATTACKS AGAINST THE AFM AND THE GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION TO CONSOLIDATE

THE GAINS MADE BY THE REVOLUTION TO DATE.

4. FABIAO INTERVIEW: ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF CARLOS FABIAO'S INTERVIEW WITH "QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS" HAS RECEIVED WIDE COVERAGE HERE. AFTERNOON "JORNAL NOVO" REPORTED INTERVIEW ON AUGUST 20, ACCENTING FABIAO'S STATEMENT HE HAD NO CONFIDENCE IN FIFTH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT'S POSSIBILITIES FOR SUCCESS. "JORNAL NOVO" ALSO REPORTED FABIAO'S CRITICISMS OF PCP'S "STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL ERRORS" AND OF COMMUNIST LINING 5TH DIVISION'S ATTEMPT TO BECOME "PARALLEL POWER" CENTER. WORKER-CONTROLLED "REPUBLICA" ALSO REPORTED INTERVIEW AUG 20, CARRYING SMALL EXTRACT WITH EDITORIAL NOTE DENOUNCING "QUOTIDIEN" FOR HAVING ATTEMPTED "MANIPULATE" FABIAO'S WORDS. ACCORDING TO "REPUBLICA," FABIAO DID NO MORE THAN CONFIRM PM GONCALVES' OWN WORDS THAT HIS LATEST GOVERNMENT FACES "DIFFICULTIES." COMMUNIST-LINING "SEculo" AND "DIARIO DE NOTICIAS" AUG 21 BOTH REFERRED TO REPUBLICA'S EDITORIAL NOTE IN BRIEF ITEMS ON INTERVIEW. NEITHER REFERRED TO FABIAO'S CRITICISMS OF PCP AND 5TH DIVISION.

5. VIOLENCE CONTINUES: MOST RECENT INCIDENTS INCLUDE:  
-- BURNING IN OPORTO OF HEADQUARTERS MDJ, YOUTH ORGANIZATION OF FELLOW-TRAVELING MDP/CDE;  
-- ATTEMPTED ATTACK ON OFFICES OF PCP DOMINATED OPORTO FEDERATION OF UNIONS (IN WHICH ONE UNION LEADER ASSAULTED OUTSIDE OF OFFICES);  
-- ASSAULT IN BARCELOS OF YOUNG PCP MILITANT;  
-- TRASHING IN FAFE OF MDP OFFICES.  
MDP COMMUNIQUE ON FIRST OF ABOVE INCIDENTS SAID ATTACKERS BELONGED TO PS, PPD, CDS, AND INCLUDED SOME ANGOLAN RETURNEES; ATTACKERS HUNG SING SAYING "HOUSE OF ANGOLAN REFUGEES" ON BURNED-OUT OFFICES. COMMUNIQUE ALSO ATTACKED "PASSIVITY" OF PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES, ACCUSING SOME POLICEMEN OF SHOWING SYMPATHY WITH ATTACKERS AND SMILING BROADLY AS ASSAULT CONSUMMATED.

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PAGE 04 STATE 200080 TOSEC 100041

6. REFUGEES DEMONSTRATE: SEVERAL HUNDRED ANGOLAN REFUGEES MARCHED TO BELEM PALACE AUG 20 IN PROTEST BOTH OF THEIR NEGLECT BY GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES AND GOP POLICY IN ANGOLA. SEVERAL FIGHTS BROKE OUT DURING THE MARCH BETWEEN REFUGEES AND SOLDIERS. ONE SOLDIER WAS REPORTED SERIOUSLY INJURED. SEVERAL LEFTIST HECKLERS WERE ALSO BEATEN UP. AT BELEM THE REFUGEES PRESENTED A LIST OF DEMANDS TO COSTA GOMES, WHO READ THEM AND LATER MET WITH REFUGEE REPRESENTATIVES. IN A BRIEF ADDRESS TO THE ASSEMBLED DEMONSTRATORS, COSTA GOMES EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR THEIR PLIGHT, STATED THAT THE PRESIDENCY WOULD ALWAYS BE AN "OPEN DOOR" ON REFUGEE MATTERS, BUT NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE OR INADVISABLE FOR THE GOP TO MEET SEVERAL OF THEIR DEMANDS.

7. COMMENT: CUNHAL'S SPEECH REFLECTS RETREAT TO COMMON FRONT TACTICS OF APRIL THROUGH FALL OF 1974 IN ATTEMPT TO CUT THEIR

POLITICAL LOSSES. SHARP UDP ATTACK ON PCP FOR ITS HALF-HEARTED SUPPORT OF DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF COPCON DOCUMENT IS INDICATOR OF DIFFICULTIES COMMUNISTS HAVE IN ATTRACTING ULTRA-LEFT; SOCIALISTS HAVE PREVIOUSLY STATED THEY WILL DEMAND MORE THAN "UNITY" RHETORIC FROM PCP BEFORE CONSIDERING JOINING COMMUNISTS IN NEW COALITION EFFORT.

8. FABIAO HAS CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED A "CENTRIST" POSITION IN PAST DISPUTES WITHIN AFM AND AVOIDED PUBLIC STATEMENTS. HIS CRITICISMS OF CURRENT GOVERNMENT ARE THEREFORE ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT. HIS COMMENTS ON THE LIFE EXPECTANCY OF THE FIFTH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS SIMILAR COMMENTS BY PRESIDENT (REF B), INDICATE THAT GONCALVES' DEPARTURE MAY FINALLY BE AT HAND, DESPITE HIS CONTINUED TENACIOUS RESISTANCE. CUNHAL'S LESS THAN FULSOME SUPPORT OF GONCALVES DURING AUGUST 20 PRESS CONFERENCE MAY BE A SIGN THAT EVEN PCP SUPPORT OF GONCALVES WEAKENING. CARLUCCU UNQUOTE MAW

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